

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 260809

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TO USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE

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TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT STANLEY KARNOW OP-ED PIECE, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 26, NEW YORK TIMES, HEADLINED "TOWARD NORMAL U.S.-CHINA TIES."

2. WASHINGTON--DURING SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER'S CURRENT VISIT TO CHINA, HE IS LIKELY TO RAISE AMONG OTHER MATTERS THE POSSIBILITY OF A FUTURE MEETING BETWEEN PRESIDENT FORD AND MAO TSE-TUNG SIMILAR TO THE DRAMATIC MEETING OF RICHARD M. NIXON AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY CHAIRMAN IN 1972.

3. BUT MR. KISSINGER AND THE CHINESE AGREE THAT A PRESIDENTIAL JOURNEY TO PEKING MAKES SENSE ONLY IF IT SERVES TO ADVANCE CHINA-UNITED STATES RELATIONS BEYOND THE UNCONVENTIONAL LIAISON ARRANGEMENT THAT NOW EXISTS. AND HEREIN LIES A COMPLICATED PROBLEM THAT HAS REMAINED UN-

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PAGE 02 STATE 260809

RESOLVED SINCE THE HISTORIC NIXON TRIP.

4. THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA ARE EQUALLY ANXIOUS TO MOVE RAPIDLY TOWARD THE ESTABLISHMENT OF FORMAL DIPLOMATIC TIES. THEIR MOTIVES ARE CONSONANT WITH THE GAME OF TRIANGULAR DIPLOMACY BEING PLAYED BY THE MAJOR POWERS.

5. CHAIRMAN MAO AND PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI, BOTH OF WHOM ARE OLD AND ILL, EVIDENTLY WANT A FIRMER LINK TO THE UNITED STATES IN ORDER TO INCREASE CHINA'S LEVERAGE AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION. AND, IN THE PROCESS, THEY HOPE TO STRENGTHEN THEIR NATION'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION.

6. MR. KISSINGER IS ALSO SEEKING TO TIGHTEN THE AMERICAN CONNECTION TO CHINA AS A WAY OF GAINING MORE MANEUVERABILITY AGAINST THE KREMLIN, AND HIS CONCERN FOR SPEED REFLECTS A FEAR THAT THE STRUGGLE FOR SUCCESSION THAT WILL PROBABLY FOLLOW THE DEATHS OF MR. MAO AND MR. CHOU COULD THWART HIS EFFORTS TO PUT UNITED STATES TIES WITH PEKING ON A NORMAL FOOTING.

7. BUT PROGRESS ALONG THESE LINES CONTINUES TO BE BLOCKED BY THE SAME OBSTACLE THAT HAS DIVIDED THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA FOR A QUARTER-CENTURY--THE TAIWAN ISSUE.

8. THE CHINESE REFUSE TO CONCEDE TO FULL-FLEDGED DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS UNTIL THE UNITED STATES BREAKS WITH THE CHIANG KAI-SHEK REGIME AND RECOGNIZES PEKING'S SOVEREIGNTY OVER ALL CHINA, INCLUDING TAIWAN. IMPLICIT IN THEIR POSITION IS THE DEMAND THAT THE UNITED STATES

MUST NULLIFY ITS DEFENSE TREATY WITH TAIWAN, SINCE, THE CHINESE ARGUE, A PROVINCE CANNOT LEGITIMATELY MAINTAIN A PACT WITH A FOREIGN COUNTRY.

9. I HAVE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT MR. KISSINGER IS PREPARED TO SATISFY THE CHINESE ON THIS SCORE--BUT ONLY ON CONDITION THAT THEY PLEDGE TO SETTLE THE TAIWAN QUESTION PEACEFULLY. AS HE REPORTEDLY SEES IT, THE ADMINISTRATION WOULD FACE POLITICAL OPPOSITION AT HOME, AND THE UNITED STATES WOULD LOSE CREDIBILITY ABROAD IF THE TREATY WITH UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 260809

TAIWAN WERE SCRAPPED WITHOUT A PEKING GUARANTEE TO RENOUNCE THE USE OF FORCE AGAINST THE ISLAND.

10. THE CHINESE REJECT THIS REQUEST ON THE GROUND THAT THEIR HANDLING OF TAIWAN IS A DOMESTIC MATTER THAT IS NONE OF AMERICA'S BUSINESS. THUS THE TWO SIDES ARE DEADLOCKED UNLESS THEY CAN CONTRIVE A FACE-SAVING FORMULA. „ A TEMPORARY COMPROMISE WAS DEVISED TO RESCUE THE

SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE FROM FAILURE AT THE END OF MR. NIXON'S TRIP TO CHINA IN FEBRUARY, 1972. BUT THAT COMPROMISE CONTAINED THE SEEDS OF THE PRESENT PREDICAMENT. CONTAINED THE SEEDS OF THE PRESENT PREDICAMENT.

12. I ACCOMPANIED THE NIXON PARTY ON THAT TRIP, AND IT WAS CLEAR TO ME THAT THE CHINESE WERE TRYING STRENUOUSLY TO PERSUADE MR. KISSINGER TO CONFIRM IN THE COMMUNIQUE THAT THE UNITED STATES RECOGNIZE TAIWAN AS PART OF CHINA.

13. WHAT I HAVE DISCOVERED ONLY LATELY IS THAT MR. KISSINGER CAME CLOSE TO GRANTING THAT CONCESSION BUT WAS RESTRAINED AT THE LAST MINUTE BY MR. NIXON, WHO INSISTED THAT THE CHINESE ASSERT THAT THEY WOULD NOT ATTEMPT TO RECOVER TAIWAN BY MILITARY MEANS.

14. THE TWO DELEGATIONS HAGGLED OVER THAT POINT UNTIL 5 O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING OF FEB. 26, AND THE PRESSURE ON MR. NIXON WAS HEIGHTENED BY THE FACT THAT, HAVING PUBLICIZED THE TRIP AS A TELEVISION SPECTACULAR, HE DESPERATELY NEEDED SOME KIND OF ACCORD.

15. THE RESULT WAS AN AMBIVALENT COMMUNIQUE IN WHICH THE CHINESE STUCK TO THEIR POSITION AND THE UNITED STATES DECLARED WITH DELIBERATE VAGUENESS THAT IT "DOES NOT CHALLENGE" THE THESIS THAT "ALL CHINESE ON EITHER SIDE OF THE TAIWAN STRAIT MAINTAIN THERE IS BUT ONE CHINA AND THAT TAIWAN IS PART OF CHINA."

16. ALTHOUGH CHINESE SPOKESMEN IN PEKING STRESSED THEN THAT A KEY CONCESSION HAD BEEN WON, THEY WOULD LATER ADMIT THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD REALLY NOT SWUNG AROUND TO UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 260809

THEIR VIEWPOINT.

17. LITTLE PROGRESS IN THE UNITED STATES-CHINA RELATIONSHIP CAN BE EXPECTED UNTIL THESE DIFFERENCES ARE STRAIGHTENED OUT. ONE DANGER THAT MAY EMERGE IN THE MEANTIME WOULD BE A DECISION BY THE CHIANG KAI-SHEK

REGIME TO DECLARE ITSELF INDEPENDENT. UNLESS THE UNITED STATES HAD ALREADY ACKNOWLEDGED PEKING'S CLAIM TO TAIWAN AT THAT STAGE, IT WOULD HAVE TROUBLE REBUFFING A TAIWAN REQUEST FOR RECOGNITION. BUT SUCH A STEP WOULD SHATTER THE AMERICAN LINK WITH CHINA.

18. HENCE THE URGENCY FOR MR. KISSINGER AND THE CHINESE TO INVENT A DURABLE FORMULA. IF WASHINGTON AND PEKING

JOINTLY ANNOUNCE THAT PRESIDENT FORD IS SCHEDULED TO VISIT
CHINA, IT WILL BE A SIGNAL THAT THEY HAVE FOUND ONE.
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